1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

B 244 433 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, but it has considerable importance in the interior of the eastern half of the country.[4] The tonnage of manioc production in Brazil is exceeded only by that of sugar cane--thus manioc is produced in greater quantity than corn, beans, or rice, the other basic subsistence crops. However, the total value of manioc production is less than that of coffee, cotton, corn, or rice. In the Recôncavo the cultivated area of manioc, over BB 244 311 433 262 22,000 hectares, exceeds that of any other crop, and the value of its production is second only to tobacco. It is usually grown as a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are a few areas of surplus production.

NB BB 244 252 262 Mandioca--manioc, cassava, or yuca--is a stem-propagated perennial which is tolerant of a variety of edaphic, climatic, and cultural conditions. The rootstock of the bitter variety--Manihot utilissima, or M. esculenta--which is most common in Bahia, contains a poisonous substance--manihotoxine--which must be removed before it can be used as human food. In the Northeast the roots almost universally are converted in crude mills into farinha de mandioca, a coarse flour which is eaten in either a raw or cooked state.[5] Sweet manioc (manihot api, in Brazil called aipim) is cultivated on a small scale. The rootstock of this variety may be eaten without extensive processing and is prepared, like the white potato, by boiling.

BB 244 252 433 The cultivation of manioc is a widespread feature of the cultural landscape of east-central Bahia, overshadowed only by the low and scrubby second growth, capoeira, which follows the intensive cultivation of this plant under a system of land rotation. Manioc cultivation and the processing of its roots are the most characteristic pursuits of the rural people--and often the most primitive.

243 311 It is primarily a crop of the sertão of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three municípios--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield--over 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

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244 Beans. Feijão, or the common field bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry sertão than with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black variety, feijão preto; the beans are dried and used with charque (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

[262 252]

244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
471 administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from
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[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which
529 has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and
[546] a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks.
743 This place has become the major meeting place for the men
873 and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, con-
[571] sists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons
[462] in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells,
462 which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty
463 clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buck-
[482] ets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are
[463] considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be
[178] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish
• 252 caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-
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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage.

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down.

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce.

• 252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc,
465 while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of [789] energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent
241 their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the fed-
463 eral school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many
554 years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These
[427] gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their
463 houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling
[608] their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become
[836] public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a
[263] secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper
[843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion
574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends
• 252 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook.
262 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all
[476] food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the
[273] farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup.
At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moque-
[251] cas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there
*565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never
574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the
535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and gui-
[369] tars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even
888 godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a
736 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaraný* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.